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FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, JUNE 14, 1919

VICTORY
WE HAVE FOUGHT FOR "THE THING NEAREST OUR HEART— FOR DEMOCRACY— THE RIGHT OF THOSE WHO SUBMIT TO AUTHORITY TO HAVE A VOICE IN THEIR GOVERNMENT."
W. W.

Drawn by Nina E. Allender

Banners Victorious

National Woman's Party

(Incorporated, 1918)

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How the Senate Voted

Alabama
Nay
Bankhead (D)
Underwood (D)
Arizona
Yea
Ashurst (D)
Smith (D)
Arkansas
Yea
Kirby (D)
Robinson (D) (Paired)
California
Yea
Johnson (R)
Phelan (D)
Colorado
Yea
Phipps (R)
Thomas (D)
Connecticut
Nay
Brandegee (R)
McLean (R)
Delaware
Yea
Ball (R) (Paired)
Nay
Wolcott (D)
Florida
Nay
Fletcher (D)
Trammell (D)
Georgia
Yea
Harris (D)
Nay
Smith (D) (Paired)
Idaho
Yea
Nugent (D)
Nay
Borah (R)
Illinois
Yea
McCormick (R)
Sherman (R)
Indiana
Yea
New (R)
Watson (R)
Iowa
Yea
Cummins (R)
Kenyon (R)
Kansas
Yea
Capper (R)
Curtis (R)
Kentucky
Yea
Stanley (D)
Nay
Beckham (D)
Louisiana
Yea
Ransdell (D)
Nay
Gay (D)
Maine
Yea
Fernwald (R)
Hale (R)
Maryland
Yea
France (R)
Nay
Smith (D)
Massachusetts
Yea
Walsh (D)
Nay
Lodge (R)
Michigan
Yea
Newberry (R)
Townsend (R)
(Paired)
Minnesota
Yea
Kellog (R)
Nelson (R)
Mississippi
Nay
Harrison (D)
Williams (D)
Missouri
Yea
Spencer (R)
Nay
Reed (D)
Montana
Yea
Myers (D)
Walsh (D)
Nevada
Yea
Henderson (D)
Pittman (D)
Nebraska
Yea
Norris (R)
Nay
Hitchcock (D)
New Hampshire
Yea
Keyes (R)
Nay
Moses (R)
New Jersey
Yea
Edge (R)
Frelinghuysen (R)
New Mexico
Yea
Fall (R)
Jones (D)
New York
Yea
Calder (R) (Paired)
Nay
Wadsworth (R)
North Carolina
Nay
Overman (D)
Simmons (D)
North Dakota
Yea
Gronna (R)
McCumber (R)
Ohio
Yea
Harding (R)
Nay
Pomerene (D)
(Paired)
Oklahoma
Yea
Gore (D) (Paired)
Owen (D) (Paired)
Oregon
Yea
Chamberlain (D)
McNary (R)
Pennsylvania
Nay
Knox (R)
Penrose (R) (Paired)
Rhode Island
Yea
Colt (R) (Paired)
Gerry (D) (Paired)
South Carolina
Nay
Dial (D)
Smith (D)
South Dakota
Yea
Johnson (D) (Paired)
Sterling (R)
Tennessee
Yea
McKellar (D)
Nay
Shields (D) (Paired)
Texas
Yea
Culberson (D)
Sheppard (D)
Utah
Yea
King (D) (Paired)
Smoot (R)
Vermont
Yea
Page (R)
Nay
Dillingham (R)
Virginia
Nay
Martin (D) (Paired)
Swanson (D)
Washington
Yea
Jones (R)
Poindexter (R)
West Virginia
Yea
Elkins (R)
Sutherland (R)
Wisconsin
Yea
LaFollette (R)
Lenroot (R)
Wyoming
Yea
Warren (R)
Kendrick (D)

Republicans voting Yea ---------- 36
Democrats voting Yea ---------- 20
—
Total Yeas ---------- 56
Republicans voting Nay ---------- 8
Democrats voting Nay ---------- 17
—
Total Nays ---------- 25
Republicans paired Yea ---------- 4
Democrats Paired Yea ---------- 6
Republicans paired Nay ---------- 1
Democrats paired Nay ---------- 4

Ratification

ON June 10 three states ratified the Susan B. Anthony amendment. They are Wisconsin, Illinois and Michigan, all of them states which Miss Paul has visited in the past two weeks. Three more are to follow certainly within the next few days, Ohio, New York and Kansas. Governor Smith, of New York, has called an extraordinary session for Monday night, June 16. The Ohio legislature reconvenes the same day and will ratify by a large majority. In Kansas the members of the legislature have found a way to meet the objection which has been advanced in some states in regard to expense. The Kansas legislature meets in special session June 14 for one day for the purpose of ratifying and the legislators waive salary and mileage, counting it a privilege to thus contribute to the suffrage cause.

The unanimous action of the Democratic National Committee in calling upon the legislatures of the several states to hold special sessions for ratification, showed that even before the passage of the amendment there was a general feeling that the amendment should be made effective by ratification, as soon as possible after its passage by Congress.

FEBRUARY 15, 1920, is the centenary of Susan B. Anthony's birth, and this fact, apart from 1920 being a presidential election year, is another very good reason why suffragists wish ratification this year, so that they may celebrate the completion of their enfranchisement upon the Anthony centenary.

GOVERNORS of 28 states in which women have full or presidential suffrage, have already received a special appeal from the National Woman's Party to call special sessions immediately. The letter was addressed to them by Maud Younger, Chairman of the Lobby Committee, and reads:

"With the passage by Congress of the constitutional amendment granting suffrage to women, the struggle for women's enfranchisement is transferred to the states.

"This struggle has already taken forty-one years of sacrifice on the part of the women of the nation. Believing that you earnestly desire its speedy termination and inasmuch as the legislatures of thirty-seven states will not meet in regular session before 1921, we appeal to you to call a special session of the legislature at the earliest possible date for the purpose of ratification.

"We ask this on behalf of our members in your state and in order that there may be conserved to the nation the outpouring of strength, effort, time and money which is the daily toll of the prolonged effort for woman's enfranchisement."

THE Pennsylvania Branch of the National Woman's Party have a committee at work in Harrisburg, which had been canvassing the legislature of that state even before the amendment was passed.

The states of Texas, Georgia, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and Florida will also have their chance to ratify before the end of the present month.

THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 1) proposing an amendment to the Constitution extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by legislatures of three-fourths of the several states:

"ARTICLE.—The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE 66th CONGRESS

Introduced

In the Senate

May 20, 1919, by Senators Jones of New Mex., Johnson of Calif., Jones of Wash., and Poindexter of Wash.

In the House

May 19, 1919, by Representatives Mann of Ill., Mondell of Wyo., Taylor of Colo., Blanton of Tex., French of Idaho, and Raker of Calif.

Reported from Committee

In the House

Favorably May 20, 1919

In the Senate

Favorably May 29, 1919.

Voted Upon

In the House

May 21, 1919, yeas 304, nays 89, passing by 42 over necessary two-thirds majority.

In the Senate

June 4, 1919, yeas 56, nays 25, passing by 2 over necessary two-thirds majority.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

By Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890 Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1917, Favorable majority.
1919, Unanimously favorably.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.
1917, Without recommendation.
1918, Favorable majority.
1919, Favorable majority.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 25 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

October 1, 1918, yeas 54, nays 30, failing by 2 of the two-thirds vote.

February 10, 1919, yeas 55, nays 29, failing by one of the necessary two- thirds vote

Passed June 4, 1919, yeas 56, nays 25, passing by 2 votes over necessary two-thirds majority.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

Passed January 10, 1918, by one vote over necessary two-thirds majority.

Passed May 21, 1919. Yeas 304, nays 89, passing by 42 votes over necessary two-thirds majority.

The Suffragist

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Supported In Forty-eight States

FROM twenty-six states both United States Senators voted for the Susan B. Anthony amendment. Fourteen states cast a divided vote, five of them being counted in the southern group, Louisiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia and Maryland; two western, Idaho and Nebraska; two Central, Missouri and Ohio; and five eastern, New York, Delaware, New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Vermont.

ONLY eight states had both Senators opposed, six being southern states and two eastern, as follows: Alabama, Florida, South Carolina, Virginia, North Carolina, Mississippi, Connecticut and Pennsylvania.

FROM the entire territory west of the Mississippi, comprising twenty-two states, there were only four unfavorable votes, Senators Borah, of Idaho; Hitchcock, of Nebraska; Reed, of Missouri; and Gay, of Louisiana.

GROUPING thirteen southern states together, there were nine votes for the amendment and seventen against. Of these thirteen southern states, both senators were opposed from six: Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Virginia, North and South Carolina; both favorable from Texas and Arkansas; and from five southern states a divided vote was cast.

THERE were voting or paired, sixty-six votes for the amendment and thirty against; forty Republicans and twenty-six Democrats in the affirmative; nine Republicans and twenty-one Democrats in the negative.

A COMPARISON of the vote in the Senate with the vote in the House, shows that of the eight states where both Senators were opposed, only two of them, Mississippi and South Carolina, failed to give some support in the House of Representatives. These two states are therefore the only states holding solid delegations in both Houses of Congress against the amendment, and in view of the fact that each of them gave a senatorial vote in the Sixty-fifth Congress, before the expiration of the terms of Senators Vardaman and Pollock, it would hardly be fair to count them exceptions. It must follow, therefore, that no state in the Union has remained dormant for suffrage; none where public men have not seen the justice or expediency of it. It is not too much to expect ratification by every state in the Union.

Victory for the Susan B. Anthony Amendment

THE Susan B. Anthony amendment is through both houses of Congress. With its passage by the United States Senate on Wednesday, June 4, ended the long struggle of more than forty years. First introduced on January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California, it passed, on the fortieth anniversary of its introduction, January 10, 1918, the House of Representatives in the 65th Congress, only to be twice defeated by the Senate of that Congress. Upon the convening of the 66th Congress on May 19, 1919, in extraordinary session it was reintroduced and passed by the House of Representatives within forty-eight hours from the opening of Congress, and its final passage by the Senate two weeks later, submits it at last to the legislatures of the several states for ratification. As passed, it is identical in its provisions with the form in which it was first drafted by the pioneer suffragist whose name it bears. Numerous amendments and substitutes have been offered, some by friends, some by opponents, and at least one (known as the Shafroth-Palmer Amendment) receiving for a season the support of a number of suffragists; but the Susan B. Anthony amendment has survived them all, as it was inevitable that it should since those in whose hearts it held first place clung to their heritage of its author's spirit and purpose, and stood for it as she might have stood, against the scorn of either friend or foe

Susan B. Anthony

The votes cast for the amendment were in exact accord with the advance poll of the National Womans' Party. There were 56 votes cast for the amendment and ten yea pairs, making a total of 66, as had been predicted. Senator Harris of Georgia, Senator Keyes of New Hampshire, and Senator Hale of Maine, who announced their intention of voting for the amendment after the first poll of the present Senate was made public, were the only votes cast that were not counted as favorable in that first poll. Senators Dial of South Carolina and Harrison of Mississippi, were the only new Senators voting in the negative. There were two votes to spare over the number absolutely necessary to make up the two-thirds majority.

The debate, just as in the House of Representatives, dealt almost entirely with matters of policy, and very little was said for or against equal suffrage per se, it being generally conceded, except perhaps by such men as Senators Wadsworth and Reed, that it was not a debatable question, as far as the justice of it was concerned.

The resolution proposing the amendment was called up by Senator Watson of Indiana, Chairman of the Woman Suffrage Committee, on Tuesday, June 3, as he had previously given notice that he would do. Senator Watson said: "what is needed now is action and not speech. Therefore, so far as I am concerned, I shall enter upon no debate touching the merits of this proposition, which are well understood throughout the country."

The first amendment to the resolution that was considered was the one offered by Senator Harrison of Mississippi (Democrat), inserting the word "white" so as to make the resolution apply only to white women. In offering this amendment Senator Harrison stated that he did not particularly care for debate, as he did not think anything more could be said than the Senators already understood. Senator Reed, however, seemed to think that there was a great deal that could be said which the other Senators did not already understand and spoke at length, but as his remarks at this juncture are to be "published hereafter" and do not appear in the Record yet, they cannot be repro duced at this time. There were 16 votes cost for the amendment offered by Senator Harrison, Senator Borah being the lone Republican voting in the affirmative. Fifty-nine votes were cast against the Harrison amendment.

On account of the time consumed by Senator Reed's remarks, two o'clock had arrived when the Treaty of Peace, as the unfinished business, would have taken precedence, but for unanimous consent that it be temporarily laid aside, which was given upon the request of Senator Johnson of California.

"Is Senator Borah for Popular Government?"

THE discussion was opened by Senator Borah, of Idaho, (Republican) speaking against the resolution. His speech is also to be "published hereafter." The trend it took is indicated by the reply to it by Senator Lenroot of Wisconsin (Republican), who said:

"The Senator knows that there is no color question at all embodied in this amendment. It relates only to sex. . . . He takes the position that if there be 33 United States Senators who believe that a proposed alteration of the Constitution of the United States is not for the best interests of the people of the United States, notwithstanding all of the other people of the United States may be in favor of it, it is the duty of those 33 Senators to prevent the people of this Republic from securing such alteration of their Government as they desire. I can conceive of no more dangerous attack upon popular government than such as that. Why, especially during the past year or two, there is not one of us upon this floor this afternoon who has not said, in hundreds of speeches, that under our form of government the people have the right in an orderly way, through the means provided by the Constitution, to secure such alterations in the form of their government as they desire, and that in this Republic, whatever may be said of other lands, there is not the slightest excuse for the presence of the anarchist or the man who advocates 'direct action'; and yet the Senator's argument is that if 33 Senators believe that an alteration in our Constitution is not for the best interests of the country, public opinion, however settled, however deliberately formed, shall be flaunted and cast aside. Mr. President, because I believe in popular government, because I believe in the right of the people to rule, because I believe in their right to secure any amendment to the Constitution that they desire if they go about it in an orderly way by using the methods provided by the Constitution, I can not subscribe for a moment to the theories or the arguments advanced by the Senator from Idaho. The Senator from Idaho (Mr. Borah) talks about Prussianism, about three-fourths of the states being able to enforce their will upon one-fourth of the states that may be unwilling. But the Senator forgets that in this Constitution, to which we are now proposing an amendment, express provision is made for amendment, and when ratified by three-fourths of the states after having been adopted by two-thirds of the Congress, it becomes a part of the Constitution, and is as much a part of the Constitution of the United States as are any of the other provisions. Prussianism? There can be no Prussianism in according to the people of the United States the right to secure such alterations in their government as they desire to secure. Prussianism is a thing upon the side of the Senator from Idaho in the argument he makes. Prussianism, indeed, it would be if 32 Senators

against the will of the country should, because they thought they were wiser than all the people, denied to them the right to secure such alterations in the Constitution as they desire."

An interesting admission was made by Senator Borah during this discussion. He said: "The women who have been playing politics around the city of Washington for the last five or six years have learned their lessons well . . . We (the Members of Congress) are more amenable to sweet reason than those who are in the voting booths."

A question was then put to Senator Borah who also voted for the prohibition amendment by Senator Lenroot: "Does the Senator think that prohibition is more important than popular government?"

The Underwood Amendment

AN amendment was introduced by Senator Underwood, of Alabama, who spoke in favor of it, to the effect that ratification should be by conventions. The Underwood amendment was, after a great deal of debate, rejected by a vote of 28 to 55. Before its final rejection, an amendment to the Underwood amendment was offered by Senator Phelan, of California, as follows: "The conventions shall consist of 100 members, being qualified electors of the several states, and shall be elected at large by electors having qualifications to vote for members of the most numerous branch of the legislature. Such conventions shall be called to meet by the governors of the several states on the first Tuesday after the first Monday of September, 1919." This amendment was rejected without a roll call.

Senator Wadsworth Admires Skill and Resourcefulness of Suffragists

EVEN Senator Wadsworth has progressed where he can oppose suffrage dispassionately upon the ground of "states rights." He outlined his reasons for opposing the resolution in the first speech that was made on Wednesday morning. He said, in part: "Now, without dicussing the merits of woman suffrage as such, the question is simply this: Why is it that this power, resting in the people of this country in their several states, is to be taken away from them and lodged elsewhere? . . . The advocates of this movement—and I do not criticise them for exercising whatever power or influence they may bring to bear or for resorting to whatever device they may find ready at their hand to bring about their purpose—the advocates of this proposal for the extension of the franchise all over the United States through a Federal amendment believe that that is the easiest way for them to achieve their purpose. To them it has become a purely practical question. . . . I am not reflecting upon their intelligence when I describe their reasons. As a matter of fact, I rather admire their skill and resourcefulness in carrying this movement up to this point. They were skilful, and have been skillful, in using the mechanics of the situation, but they have not gone to the people of the country. They have believed—and I think most men in their honest second judgment will agree—that it is easier to persuade a legislature to ratify a proposal of this sort than it is to get the people of a state to do the same thing in a popular referendum. It can be done more quickly and with less expense in the matter of propaganda, and, as was said here yesterday, the members of legislative bodies—and I do not except the Congress of the United States—are peculiarly susceptible to pressure, to insistent and persistent agitation and propaganda."

"Notorious Incompetency of Legislatures"

SENATOR Reed, of Missouri, took advantage of the occasion to speak of "the notorious incompetency of legislatures, and the fact that they could be reached by influence, and often by sinister means." He said "It is because of the fact that legislative bodies very frequently do not represent the sense of the people, that they are very often composed of men grossly incompetent, that protest is now being made against taking away from the people of the state of Missouri the right of settling this question for themselves." In this connection it is interesting to note that of all the representatives of the state of Missouri in both houses of Congress, Senator Reed is the only one who has voiced such a "protest," his colleague, Senator Spencer, and all of the Missouri delegation in the House of Representatives, having supported the suffrage amendment.

An Extreme Imagination

SOME difficulty was manifested by Senator Smith, of South Carolina, in drawing a distinction between color and sex. He argued against the woman suffrage amendment just as he might have argued against the fifteenth amendment, had he been a member of the Senate at the time of its passage. He started out with the premise that the fifteenth amendment was passed in a moment of heat, passion, sectional strife, and bitterness, and then in his argument adopted the same elements that he objected to in the passage of the fifteenth amendment. He spoke with fervor, if not with heat, with fire if not with passion, with resignation if not with bitterness, and not without some misunderstanding of the issue in its application to sectional conditions. He said, "I maintain that there is no difference whatever betwen the fifteenth amendment and the Susan B. Anthony amendment." He referred to the fifteenth amendment as "the incorporation into our organic law of the right of an alien and ignorant race to be turned loose upon us; and it numerically in the majority"—when as a fact it is well known that the white race is very much in the majority in the South and the enfranchisement of women would practically double that majority. His interpretation of the Susan B. Anthony amendment was challenged by Senator Jones, of New Mexico, (Democrat), who said: "If I am able to read the English language, this amendment does absolutely nothing more than to prevent discrimination in the franchise on account of sex. I think it requires an extreme imagination for one to draw any inference or to fabricate any argument to the effect that the passage of the amendment is a reaffirmation or readoption of the fifteenth amendment."

Republicans Champion States Rights.

ANOTHER champion of "states rights" appeared in the person of Senator Brandegee, of Connecticut (Republican). Suffrage has given strange champions to this great old Democratic principle, with Senators Borah, Wadsworth and Brandegee all defending it. Throughout the entire Senate debate, the prohibition amendment would be referred to, and it probably shares the honors with the suffrage amendment in converting some members to the beauties of states rights, and the two together have brought about some little inconsistencies.

Senator Brandegee said: "In my judgment the framers of the Constitution designed that instrument to be the broad charter of our liberties and the definition of our form of government. They never expected the use of the process of amending the Constitution to be prostituted to putting a lot of police regulations, ordinances and laws into the Constitution of the United States. . . . They wisely thought that the people in a country differing in climate, population, habits, and historical traditions could better administer their own affairs in the far-removed sections of the country in accordance with their local traditions and ideas than they could be administered by the fiat of a body sitting in the city of Washington. . . . Our Southern brethren, suddenly, owing largely to a local condition, go crazy about prohibition. . . . Not satisfied with passing their own laws upon that subject, they come here and vote to jam a prohibition amendment into the Constitution of the United States and make other States,—"

Senator Kirby, of Arkansas: "Does the Senator from Connecticut regard the adoption of the prohibition amendment by 45 states as conclusive evidence that it is a local and Southern proposition?"

Senator Brandegee: "I regard it as a violation of the principle about which I am talking, and I say that you Senators voted to perpetrate that which I regard as an outrage upon the states that do not want it."

He concluded by saying: "I am simply opposed to this amendment because it deprives the states of this Union of the power to fix the qualifications of their own electors who are to vote for their own officers. I think they can do it and do it better than the Congress can do it. I am opposed to this amendment because it is not demanded by my state. I do

not take the view that suffrage, whatever may be its merits, can be better determined by this Congress than it can be by the local states. . . . I have regretted the unseemly and undignified haste of political managers to get themselves in front of this woman movement, to claim the credit of getting suffrage for women."

Senator Borah's Inconsistency

THE friends of suffrage were so anxious that there should be no delay, that most of them refrained from speaking, but there were a few exceptions to this rule, due to the adroitness with which some of the opponents sought to confuse the issue and to inject irrelevant arguments, and explain their own inconsistencies. Senator Thomas, of Colorado (Democrat), in referring to the speech of Senator Borah, said:

"I asked the Senator how he differentiated between his position at this time and that taken by him on the occasion of his vote upon the prohibition amendment; and his explanation, if I correctly comprehended him, was that inasmuch as a number of the states had adopted prohibition, and inasmuch as it could not be made effective so long as other states not having adopted it were permitted to manufacture and import alcoholic liquors therein, which neutralized prohibition, it being necessary to enable the states to enforce their laws, and in the interest of local self-government, that the constitutional amendment providing for general prohibition should be submitted to the states for ratification or rejection, the Senator voted for the amendment. . . . I am unable to perceive the force of that logic which justifies the enactment of a prohibition amendment to the Constitution but which rejects the proposed suffrage amendment. Each of them deals with a subject which was reserved to the states at the time of the adoption of the Constitution. Were it not so, these amendments would be unnecessary. That it is so is most obvious by reference to the general proposition that powers not expressly or by necessary implication delegated to the Federal Government are reserved to the states, or to the people.

"If the argument be a substantial one, it could be made, as I think it has been made, against every amendment hitherto proposed to the Constitution, whether adopted or rejected. Fundamentally, the people of the United States, when conforming to the machinery and the requirements of the Constitution in their action, may incorporate into the Constitution of the United States anything they please. It is a matter of judgment—a matter, if you please, of necessity—in the opinion of that majority which is required to make the fundamental change. Whether it encroaches upon the rights of the states or interferes with local self-government, or abolishes local self-government, is entirely a practical question, and, in my judgment, has nothing to do with the constitutional right and power of the people to amend their organic act as they may see fit. . . .

"I can readily understand how a Senator who cast his vote against the prohibition amendment could consistently oppose this amendment upon the ground that it interfered with local self-government; but I am unable to understand the logic which justifies a favorable vote for the one and an unfavorable vote for the other. . . . I am unable to perceive how this amendment, should it become effective through ratification, can affect the principle of local self-government, while that regarding prohibition certainly will; for the right of a man to eat or to drink or to conduct his personal affairs as he sees fit, provided only that he has the same respect for the right of others to do the same thing, is infinitely more of a subject for local self-government than the right of suffrage. . . .

"I hope and believe that the good women of this country, who in my state study and therefore understand political questions quite as well as, if not better than, the average man, who regard their enfranchisement not as the grant of a privilege, but as the imposition of a public duty, will be a powerful aid in the restoration as well as the preservation of local self-government and not become a mere numerical addition to our electoral franchise whose influence and whose power will be extended in some other and less laudable direction."

Underwood Amendment Offered to Defeat Original Resolution

THAT the Underwood amendment was offered, not to improve the condition, but in the hope of defeating the original resolution, was the contention of Senator Kirby, of Arkansas. Referring to Senator Underwood, he said: "He is an enemy to the cause. He is not in favor of the proposition of permitting women to vote. He makes no concealment of that fact. He has not been in favor of it. He is not in favor of it now. He offers this amendment to injure the cause and not to help it. Why should his amendment be adopted. No other amendment of the 17 amendments to the Constitution of the United States has ever been submitted to conventions in the states. It has never been attempted to be done before. It is permitted under the Constitution, yes; but it has never been availed of. It has never been done heretofore, and why should it be employed now on this question, and why should it be proposed by an enemy of the resolution and expected to be indorsed by those who are its friends? I say it should not be done. . . . Can you say it is wrong to amend the Constitution according to the rules laid down for the purpose? If all the people of the country can not be trusted to amend the Constitution according to the rules provided in the Constitution, then is it not time that we have no further amendments? Some of these gentlemen, I believe from the arguments they have made, would be willing and think it better for the interest of the country in future that we have no further amendments to the Constitution, that the people can not be trusted to amend their own constitution in the way they laid down, when the Constitution was made, for amending and changing it. . . . All the legislatures in the states are elected by the people. They are sent to their different assemblies representing their people. They will vote on this question, and if you had a convention and elected these representatives for this particular purpose they would be no more representative of the people than they are now. You are attempting here an innovation, so far as that practice is concerned.

Senator Smith Unreconstructed

"AS to what the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. Smith) has said," continued Senator Kirby, "he still seems to be in the unreconstructed period. I live in the South. I have lived under the fifteenth amendment since I was born, practically. It i s the law of the land, and what is the use in discussing conditions under which it became so? Where is the harm that shall come to us if hereafter, as to one-half of our people who have been denied the right to vote we shall utilize their ability and their judgment in the settlement of questions that affect local conditions and affect national interests?"

In replying to Senator Kirby, it was admitted by Senator Underwood that he was opposed to the pending joint resolution and had been from the beginning. "But," he said, "that does not affect the question of the amendment to it, as to which is the better way to reflect popular sentiment in its adoption or rejection."

"The Teachings of the Fathers"

THE galleries were very full on the afternoon the vote was taken, and no wonder Senator Reed again felt called upon to speak, and he did so, deliberately, calmly, artistically, exhibiting his forensic genius to the great appreciation of the audience—for a period of about three hours—including the interruptions which he had to suffer from some of his colleagues who did not agree with him in all of his eloquent utterances. One of these interlocutors was Senator Walsh, of Montana, who ventured to remark: "I want to say to the Senator from Missouri that we have been admonished by him and by other Senators to remember the teachings of the fathers and to guide and govern our actions by their practices and their teachings. Immediately upon the adoption of the Constitution there were at least ten amendments submitted when the method was new. These amendments might very properly have been submitted to a convention called in each state, for there was a large number of them; but my recollection is that the fathers chose the other system. We have followed that system inva-

riably down to this time. Does not the Senator think that that is a good reason why we should continue to do so?"

Says Suffrage a Joke in Missouri

A GREAT many things can be said in three hours' time. In fact, a great deal must be said in order to consume that much time, and among the other things Senator Reed said, was an expression of his regard for suffragists in general and those of his own state in particular. He said suffrage had been the subject of laughter and jest in Missouri more than of any serious consideration. He doesn't take it at all seriously, even if he does talk against it for hours. "Ladies have come," he said, "and asked to address audiences that were called together by Democrats or Republicans. They have been accorded the platform, and have spoken their little piece, bowed themselves out, and the business of the evening went on." From his description, one would almost infer that the "little piece" of the "ladies" was something like "The Boy Stood on the Burning Deck," and that it was spoken in much the same way in which Mark Twain describes the sweet girl graduate in The Adventures of Tom Sawyer.

Suffrage in Politics

THE ladies of his state were not the only objects of the facetiousness of the Senator from Missouri. He called upon his colleagues, the galleries and all the world "to witness the ambitious rivalry of Democratic and Republican leaders," saying "Democrats got together in the last days of the last session saying if we do not put this through the Republicans will put it through at the next session. So we will put it through regardless of the merits, in order that we may get the votes of the women. And when this session is convened, behold the spectacle! Before the new committees were organized the Democratic chairman rushed forward with this bill, without a report from a committee, standing here like another Ajax, not defying but inviting the lightning, and declaring 'here is the Democratic Party ready to give you suffrage,' all in the hope of getting the votes of the women.

"Then upon the other side there is the little filibustering tactics to delay action by the Democrats, so that committees may be organized and the Republicans can bring in the bill. . . . Although there is business of the most pressing character, and although appeal after appeal has come for hearings they have set aside all that, and the manly form of the Senator from Indiana (Mr. Watson) stretched to its fullest height, is visible upon the floor demanding instantaneous action. . . .

"It may be that women are not by reason of mental attitude—not from lack of mentality—as well qualified for suffrage as men, but when it comes to the question of knowing what you are up to and seeing clear through you, they can see through the little shams and pretenses of a man, in the dark of the moon without a star shining, when you could not see through them if you had a microscope that magnified a thousand times. They know exactly what you are trying to do here today."

Miscellany

THE advocates of the initiative and referendum also received their share of attention in the time consumed by Senator Reed, and his reference to state legislatures brought forth the queries: "You seem to have a poor opinion of the legislatures," and "The Senator from Missouri seems to be rather severe on legislatures." He discussed the relative populations of the states of Montana and New York, home life in the South, states rights, secession, and the race question, and said that if he had his life to live over again he would go West.

The question of conferences was brought up upon a suggestion of Senator Ashurst that the Underwood amendment would only delay the final passage of the original resolution. Senator Ashurst said: Suppose the Senate should today adopt this (the Underwood) amendment. It would go to conference, and under the present make up of the committees of conference the conferees would recede in five minutes from the Senate's amendemnt, because both the committee of the House and the committee of the Senate are opposed to this amendment or to any other amendment. The Senator from Missouri knows that as well as I do. . . . We would simply have lost a week's time; we would have been fooling ourselves and other people in attempting to do a vain and useless thing." To the persuasion of Senator Reed for the Underwood amendment, Senator Ashurst said: "There is running all through our law the well-known principle that the rule of procedure shall not be changed nor the statute of limitations shortened while the cause is pending. This matter has been pending, if not technically at least practically, for four years. One of the reasons why I would not at this time vote for the amendment of the Senator from Alabama is that I think it would be a change of the remedy while the case is pending. It would be unusual; it would be analogous to shortening the period of the limitation right in the middle of a trial."

Senator Gay Offers Substitute Amendment

AFTER the defeat of the Underwood amendment, Senator Gay offered a substitute for the original resolution, saying: "In February last, when the vote was taken on the woman suffrage question, I explained my position briefly at that time. My position today, Mr. President, is the same as it was then. There is no doubt in my mind that women should be given the right to vote. There the privilege they are now asking by the methods which some of their supposed friends have adopted. It is a well-known fact that they have finally secured the necessary two-thirds vote of the Senate of the United States to pass the Susan B. Anthony amendment and to submit that amendment to the legislatures of the various states of the Union. The advocates of the Susan B. Anthony amendment have won a great victory and are justly entitled to all the praise and honor which comes with the winning of a battle which has been fought for so long a time. It is not my intention to attempt to delay this legislation, but I do desire to present here and now an amendment which I believe would be ratified by the necessary 36 states at the next meeting of their legislatures. I present this as a substitute for the amendment which is now before you. . . . It meets the objection that many have to the Susan B. Anthony amendment and is more liberal, perhaps, than the amendment which I have already presented for your consideration. . . . With the passage of the amendment which I am now presenting to you the objection would be removed and the required number of states would soon pass it and thus give the right of suffrage to those noble, patriotic, and splendid women of our country who have so long fought for this right and who so richly deserve the privilege."

The amendment offered by Senator Gay differed from the Susan B. Anthony amendment only in the second section, which reads as follows: "The several states shall have the authority to enforce this article by necessary legislation, but if any state shall enforce or enact any laws in conflict therewith, then Congress shall not be excluded from enacting appropriate legislation to enforce it."

The Gay substitute amendment was rejected by a vote of 19 to 62. The resolution introduced by him previously, providing that the states should have the exclusive right of enforcement was not called up at all, he having abandoned it for his substitute amendment.

Final Vote Taken

ABOUT fifteen minutes past five, the final vote was taken on the original resolution, House Joint Resolution No. 1, passed by the House of Representatives on May 21. By five-thirty, the vote was completed, and the President pro tempore had announced: "The yeas are 56 and the nays are 25. A quorum being present and the joint resolution having received the affirmative vote of more than two-thirds of the Senators present and voting is declared to have passed the Senate in accordance with the Constitution of the United States."

The applause burst forth, on the floor and in the galleries, for a forty years struggle had been brought to a close—a struggle that had been made worth while by the victory it had won.

Suffragists Rejoice

Alice Paul's Statement on the Day of Victory

WOMEN who have taken part in the long struggle for freedom feel today the full relief of the victory. Freedom has come not as a gift but as a triumph, and it is therefore a spiritual as well as a political freedom which women receive.

But the years behind can now well be forgotten, for in the final act of women's enfranchisement all political parties have acted with cordial generosity and the country has supported our cause with enthusiasm.

There is no doubt of immediate ratification. We enter upon this final stage of the campaign joyously, knowing that women will be enfranchised citizens of this great democracy within a year."

WHILE Miss Paul has been away from headquarters, conducting ratification campaigns in Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Ohio and other states, telegrams and letters have been pouring in, since the vote in the Senate, to her and Lucy Burns, who is working for ratification in New York, congratulating them on the passage of the amendment and expressing the joy that suffragists and their friends have realized in the final success of the campaign started in Washington six years ago when Miss Paul and Miss Burns organized the Congressional Union which later became the National Woman's Party. The result of the vote was not a surprise, and having known for weeks that victory was at hand, it may not have been expected that there would be spontaneous and widespread rejoicing as if the victory had come more quickly—but hope deferred had not made so sick the hearts of suffragists that they could not enjoy their victory in its fullness.

Some of the letters and telegrams are reproduced so that all may join in the joyous spirit with which the victory is accepted. It is the victory that counts, rather than what it cost in the "years behind that can now well be forgotten."

Chief Justice Walter Clark, of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, on the night after the passage of the amendment, wrote Miss Paul as follows:

"Will you permit me to congratulate you upon the great triumph in which you have been so important a factor. Your place in history is assured. Some years ago when I first met you I predicted that your name would be written 'on the dusty roll the ages keep.'

"There were politicians, and a large degree of public sentiment, which could be won only by the methods which you adopted. There were others which could only be won by the methods adopted by the other wing of the suffrage movement. It is certain that but for you, success would have been delayed for many years to come.

"Permit me to express what I believe will be the verdict of history. There will be a special session of the General Assembly of this state next spring, and I feel fully assured of the ratification of the amendment by this state at that time."

"Hurrah for the amendment and for you and all your grand workers.—Sophia G. Meredith, mond, Va."

"Congratulations to all from all of us.—Caroline E. Spencer, Press Chairman, Colo. Branch, N. W. P."

"Great gratitude to you and Lucy Burns and all the others. You did it.—Lavinia L. Dock."

Lucy Burns

"Congratulations on suffrage victory. All credit is due you and the Woman's Party.—Parry H. Paul."

"My most sincere congratulations. Your political genius and courage the most important factor in the great victory.—Dudley Malone."

"Long live Alice Paul and her associates. The women of Oregon rejoice with you in the passage of the Susan B. Anthony suffrage amendment.—Marie Ernst, Portland, Ore."

"Heartiest congratulations. We thank you for your splendid leadership and stand ready to support your plans for immediate ratification.—Caroline Katzenstein, Executive Secretary Pennsylvania Branch, N. W. P."

"Just arrived from Russia. Heartiest congratulations on your great suffrage triumph.—Howard D. Hadley."

"Deepest and most profound congratulations on your success in Congress. Your ultimate success is now but a formality and none rejoices more than I.—R. J. Caldwell."

"Your pickets did the job. Gave equal rights to all. Thank you.—J. B. Bloss, Rochester, N. Y."

"Congratulations and thanks for all you have done to win our victory.—Genevieve M. Fuller, Dover, Mass."

"Congratulations over our victory.—Mrs. Allen R. Fellows, Sioux City, S. Dak."

"We are rejoicing with you tonight in the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment. —Mrs. Mary Nolan, Mrs. S. S. Goffin, Jacksonville, Fla."

"Dear Miss Paul: I realize the full meaning of your great victory at this moment. To you and your faithful coworkers of the National Woman's Party I send congratulations from the Oregon Branch.—Mrs. W. J. Hawkins, Chairman Oregon Branch, N. W. P."

"Congratulations on your joyous victory and on your great leadership.—Pauline W. Spencer, Philadelphia, Pa."

"Congratulations. The National Woman's Party but pep into the work for the federal amendment.—Ida A. Craft, New York."

"Congratulations and rejoicing. Suffrage victory is due to you and your undaunted faith, splendid vision and untiring devotion to the cause.—Florence Brooks Whitehouse, Portland, Me."

"Hearty congratulations.—Margaret Knepper, Honolulu."

"New Jersey Branch sends congratulations and sincere appreciation of your brilliant leadership which has made this victory possible. Please let us know where ratification campaigns will be held.—Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, Chairman New Jersey Branch, N. W. P."

"Many congratulations on passage of Susan B. Anthony federal suffrage amendment, from the women of the Thirty-eighth and Thirty-ninth Congressional District of New York State.—Mary Ertz Will, Rochester, N. Y.

"Pressure" For Suffrage

From the New York Times, May 25, 1919

IT has been related how an elaborate card index, containing detailed information about each member of Congress was employed in converting Senators and Representatives to the votes-for-women idea. The political pilots of the movement now assert that they have converted a sufficient number of statesmen to assure a suffrage victory. And it develops, incidentally, that the card index was only one of three media of pressure brought to bear on members of Congress. The three distinct pressure machines within the main suffrage organization have been the following:

First, the card index direct pressure system, presided over by Miss Maud Younger and her corps of lobbyists, supplied with all information needed in connection with their personal visits to members of Congress.

Second, the pressure-from-above Political Committee, of which Mrs. Abby Scott Baker is chairman, intrusted with winning over by personal interviews the little groups of men having most influence with the Senators or Representatives in process of conversion.

Third, the pressure-from-below Organization and Legislative Committee, headed by Miss Doris Stevens, reaching out from Washington to the state organizations and through them to the people in the members' home states.

Alice Paul, Chairman National Woman's Party

THE three pressures have been brought into simultaneous play. The method was to start the pressure from below first and to apply the pressure from above last as the finishing touch. * * *

But for the three pressures, suffrage would still be a long way from victory. That is admitted at the women's headquarters in Washington, where confident predictions are now forthcoming that the bill will be passed soon.

* * * * * * * * *

It is probably no exaggeration to say that no fewer than one-third of the Senators were swung over when, if they had followed their own individual opinions, they would have remained in the column of the antis. Never before had they been brought into contact with such a political machine as was shoving them along. The impact of the three pressures gave them a push from behind and from each side.

MORE surprised than ever would they have been if they could have seen the women who directed the lever that set the three pressures at work—Miss Alice Paul, Chairman of the National Woman's Party. She is a Quaker. At first sight she looks that part more than the militant suffragist who, for picketing the President, received a sentence of seven months' imprisonment. Her manners are quiet, her voice low. She is apt to keep her hands crossed on her lap. It is only on close scrutiny that one perceives her underlying firmness and ability to fight to a finish.

* * * * * * * * *

Before she founded the National Woman's Party in 1913, she was associated with the older suffrage association. But from the first, her admirers recall, she was for downright fighting, contending that women must first free themselves by fighting for and asserting their rights before they could really be entitled to the ballot.

That was not a Quaker attitude, and another method she adopted was in just as sharp contrast. As is now made clear in the revelations of the three pressures, she resolved to take politics as she found it. * * * It is now conceded by the best of the men politicians that she played their game with extraordinary success. She gave those members of Congress who had their ears to the ground their own medicine, fortified to a new degree and in such a way that they hardly knew what was happening to them. * * *

TO concentrate on a constitutional amendment was Miss Paul's conception. "The suffrage fight began in 1840," she said, "with an effort in the states one by one. When the negroes were enfranchised by a constitutional amendment the woman suffragists began to work on Congress for an amendment, but side by side the work in the states was continued. Finally, nine states were won for suffrage. Then it was made clear that there was no use in going ahead any longer in this way, but instead to make of the nine states a sort of lever to force through a constitutional amendment. For that purpose, this organization was formed in 1913, and since then its efforts have been wholly concentrated on that purpose.

"In connection with the other branches of the campaign, the militant demonstrations have been of much help. That was particularly noticeable in the case of the President, whose support we needed most of all. Whenever we picketed the White House, we noticed the President became more active in our cause, and whenever we let up there was a relaxation. We were on hand when he arrived in Boston on his return from Europe, and we learned afterward that one of the first things the President did on reaching Washington was to send for Senator Jones of the Senate Suffrage Committee and asked him not to fail to call up the amendment again before adjournment. If that had been possible the amendment would now be a law, for we had pledged the additional vote of Senator Gay of Louisiana, and that vote would have carried the measure through."

One Who Has "Saved the Day" Many Times

"I FEEL that the militants in Washington saved the day. If it had not been for what they did from the time we entered the war, the Federal amendment would have been set aside, and perhaps we would have had to wait for several years longer. I rejoice that the men of this country have at last given justice to the women of this country."

THIS was the statement made by Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont on the day of victory, and it is characteristic of her loyalty to the organization that has concentrated upon the Susan B. Anthony amendment without diversion of effort. Her loyalty, her faith, and her support have been great contributing factors in the enfranchisement of American women, now all but realized. She has "saved the day" herself, many times over. She has contributed more than fifty thousand dollars to the cause, and no occasion when she could help in other ways, by sympathy, encouragement, and defense against misrepresentation has gone by without her help. She has a vision that sees far ahead, and the courage to hold an advance position in a hot fight. Her insight into the need of equal rights for women has been rare, her zeal in the cause of suffrage significant—because she is not one who has been made to feel the need

Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont

herself, except as she feels what she sees about her. Her fight for the ballot has been because she believed it would make for better womanhood, a womanhood unrestricted, unbound, endowed with the responsibility of looking after not only her own, but her neighbor's interests, demanding the rights of human beings, more because women are human beings than because they are women.

IN the early days of the campaign waged by the National Woman's Party, a great deal was said by politicians about the federal amendment being the wrong way. Mrs. Belmont's reply was: "The mere fact that so many practical politicians tell us that the federal amendment is all wrong and we should not approach the question by that avenue, makes my conviction all the stronger that that is just what we ought to do. When a politician advises me so vehemently against any action, I am inclined to believe that is just the thing that will prove most effective."

TIME has proved the wisdom of her independence of thought, and in looking back over the past four years since she gave expression to that thought at San Francisco in September, 1915, at the first convention of women voters ever held in the United States, one marvels at the trueness with which the "most effective" action has stood the test and survived, victorious over the most "practical politicians" of that day.

Comments

Votes for U. S. Women

WOMEN'S suffrage for the United States was delayed by a "filibuster" this week in the Senate, but the suffragettes claim that they have a majority and that it will ultimately become the law of the land. They will owe their success to the most remarkable lobby ever known in Washington. This organization consisted of three distinct pressure machines: a card index system, a "presure-from-above" committee working at the Capital, and a "pressure-from-below" committee reaching out to the home states of representatives or senators.

The card index contains complete information about the life, conduct, political views, etc., of each of the 581 members of Congress, and if a man can be converted by direct argument through this committee there is no need of going farther. But if a man proves obstinate the other parts of the organization are set to work. Miss Alice Paul, militant Chairman of the National Woman's Party, was asked: "Have you considered the political morality of bringing pressure on a member of Congress to vote against his real conviction?" "We think," she replied, "it is the duty of a Congressman to represent the people in his vote instead of his own personal opinion, and through our organization we seek first to create and organize that public opinion and then to bring it to bear on the member. This the Congressmen themselves recognize." "But," it was pointed out to Miss Paul, "if the amendment goes through, you will impose suffrage on some states where recent votes have shown they are opposed to it." "That is no doubt true," she said, "but this is something women in every state want, and we are proceeding according to the machinery of the government by constitutional amendment; we are not attempting to overturn the government, as men have done in extending the ballot among them."—*Toronto Globe, May 29, 1919*

Suffrage An Issue Next Year

THE equal suffrage amendment having passed the Senate by the necessary two-thirds majority it will be submitted to the legislatures for ratification. Thirteen states would defeat it.

The chief strength of the opposition is in the South.

It will be difficult to keep the suffrage question out of national politics. The Democratic Presidential candidate will find it hard to hold women's votes in the South and West if the principal states of the South continue bourbonish on suffrage.

Will President Wilson and Chairman Cummings of the Democratic committee be able to bring in their wandering sheep? Will Chairman Hays line up the Republican states practically unanimously? The result may depend on the attitude of women in the equal suffrage states.—*N. Y. Tribune, June 5, 1919*

Honor to All

DUDLEY Field Malone last night issued the following statement:

"The suffrage victory was not won by the leaders of either the Democratic or Republican Party. The victory belongs to the sacred memory of Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Inez Milholland, who gave their life in the battle. The joy of success is due to the tireless leadership of Dr. Anna Shaw, Mrs. Catt, to the militant courage and political genius of Alice Paul and to the millions of women throughout America who have fought the great fight."—*N. Y. Herald, June 5, 1919.*

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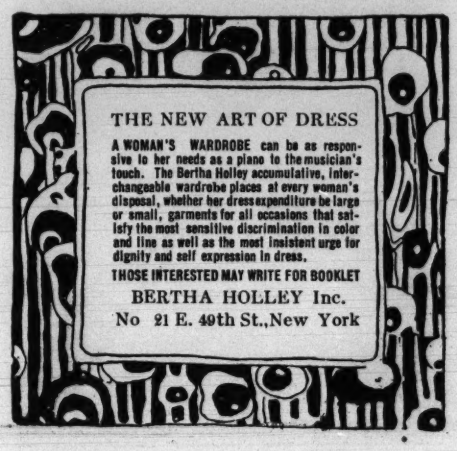
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